ANTISIXTVS.

An oration of Pope Sixtus the fift, vppon the death of the late French King, Henrie the third.

WITH

A Confutation vpon the sayd Oration, *wherein all the treacherous practises of the* house of Lorraine, are largely described and layde open vnto the view of the world, with a briefe declaration of the Kings death, and of many other things worthy the noting, which neuer yet came to light before.

Translated out of Latin by A. P.

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An Oration of Pope Sixtus the fift vpon the death of King Henry the third, in Rome in the full assemblie of the Cardinalles.

COnsidering oftentimes with my selfe, and applying my whole vnderstanding vnto these things, which now of late by a iust iudgement of God, are come to passe: I thinke I may with right vse the wordes of the Prophet Abacuck saying: I haue wrought a worke in your daies, and none will beleeue it, though it be told them. The French King is slaine by the hands of a Friar, for vnto this it may fitly be compared, although the Prophet spake of an other thing, namely of the incarnation of our Lord, which exceedeth and surmounteth all other wonders and miracles whatsoeuer: as also the Apostle S. Paul referreth the same wordes vnto the resurrection of Christ. When the Prophet sayde a worke, his minde was not to signifie by it some common or ordinarie thing, but a rare and notable matter, and a deede worthie to be remembred, as that of the creation of the worlde, The heauens are the workes of thine handes: And againe, He rested the seauenth day, of all the workes which he had made. When he sayth, I haue wrought, with these wordes the holy Scripture is wont to expresse thinges not come to passe by casualtie, fortune, or accident, but things befallen by the determined prouidence, will, and ordinance of God, as our Sauiour sayde: The workes which I doe, yee shall doe also, and yet greater, and many more such like wherewith the holy Scriptures are replenished. And that he saith that it is done in times past, herein hee followeth the vse and order of the other Prophets, who for the certentie of the euent are wont to prophesie of things to come as if they were past alreadie. For the Philosophers say, that things

past are of necessitie, things present, of being: and thinges to come only of possibilitie. For which certaintie the Prophet Isaie long before prophisying of the death of Christ, hath thus spoken: He was led as a sheepe to the slaughter, and like a dumme lambe before his shearer, so opened hee not his mouth, &c. And this whereof we speake at this present, and which is come to passe in these our dayes, is a famous, notable, and an incredible thing not done or atcheiued without the particular prouidence and disposition of the Almightie. A Friar hath kilde a King, not a painted one, or drawen vpon a peece of paper, or pictured vpon a wall, but the King of France, in the midst of his armie, compassed and enuironed round about with his Guard and Souldiers: which truely is such an act, and donne in such a manner, that none will beleeue it, when it shall be tolde them, and perhaps our posteritie and the age to come will account and esteeme it but a fable.

That the king is dead or else slaine, it is easily to be beleeued, but that he is kild and taken away in this sort, is hardly to be credited, euen as we presently agree vnto this that Christ is borne of a woman, but if we adde vnto it of a woman virgine, then following naturall reason we can in no wise assent vnto it. Euen so we lightly beleeue that Christ died, but that he is risen vp againe from death to life, it falleth harde vnto mans vnderstanding, and therefore not lightly digested. That one is wakened againe out of a sleepe, ertasie, or a sownd, because it is not against nature, we naturally beleeue it, but to be risen againe from death, it seemeth so incredible vnto the flesh, that S. Paule disputing in Athens of this point, was mustked greatly, and accused to be a setter forth of new Gods, so that many (as S. Luke witnesseth) did mocke him, and many for the strangenesse of the doctrine saide, We will heare thee againe of this thing. Of such things therefore which befall not, according to the lawes of nature, and the ordinarie course thereof, speaketh the Prophet, That none shall beleeue it when it shall be tolde them. But wee giue credite

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vnto it by consideration of the omnipotencie of God, and by submission of our vnderstanding vnder the obedience of faith, and seruice which we owe vnto our Saviour Christ. And by these meanes this that was incredible by nature, commeth credible by faith: therefore we that beleeue not after the flesh that Christ is borne of a virgine, yet when there is added vnto it, that this was doone supernaturally by operation of the holy Ghost: then truely we agree vnto it, and faithfully beleeue it. So likewise when it is saide that Christ is risen againe from the dead, as wee are fleshly onely we beleeue it not, but when it is affirmed that this was done by the power of the diuine nature which in him was, then without any doubting we beleeue it. In the same manner when it shall be tolde vs that such a mightie King was killed by a poore, simple, and a weake Friar, euen in the middest of his armie, and enuironed with his Guards and Souldiers, to our naturall reason and fleshly capacitie it will seeme incredible, yet considering on the other side the great and grieuous sinnes of this King, and the speciall prouidence of the almightie herein, and by what accustomed and wonderfull meanes he hath accomplished his most iust will and iudgement against him, then most firmely we will beleeue it. Therefore this great & miraculous worke I may but onely ascribe it vnto the particular prouidence of God, not as those that referre all things amisse vnto some ordinarie causes, or vnto fortune, or such like accidentarie euentes, but as those who (more neere obseruing and looking in the course of the whole matter) easely see that here in this befell many things, which could in no wise haue beene brought to passe and dispatched without the speciall helpe of God. And truely the state of Kings and Kingdoms and all other such rare and weightie affaires should not be thought to be gouerned of God rashly and vnaduisedly. In the holy Scripture some are of this kind, and none of them can be referred vnto any other thing, but vnto God the only author therof: yet there are none wherein the celestiall operation more appeareth then in this whereof we speake

at this present. We read in the first booke of the Machab. the 6. chap. how Eleazar offered himselfe vnto a certaine death to kill the king that was an enemie and persecutor of the people and children of God. For in the battell espying an Elephant more excellent then any of the other beastes, whereupon it was like that the king was with a swift course casting himselfe in the middest of the troupes of his enemies, here and there making a way perforce, came to the beast at last, and went vnder her, and thrust his sword in her belly and slewe her, who falling with the great waight of her bodie prest him to death, and kilde him out of hande. Here in this we see some thinges not vnlike vnto ours, as much as toucheth the zeale, valiantnesse of minde, and the issue of the enterprise, yet in the rest there is no comparison to bee made. Eleazarus was a Souldier, exercised in weapons, and trained vp in warres, set in battell, emboldened with courage, and inflamed with rage and anger: this a Friar not inured to the fight, and so abhorring of bloud by the order of his profession, that perhappes hee could not abide the cutting of a vaine. He knew the kinde of his death, as also the place of his burial, namely that he should be intombed vnder the fall of the beast, and so buried in the middest of his triumph and victorie. This man did looke for death onely, and expected nothing but vnknowen and most cruell torments, and did not doubt before, but that he should lacke a graue to rest within. But in this are yet many other thinges that can suffer no comparison. The famous historie of the holy woman Judith is sufficiently knowen, who tooke counsell with her selfe, that shee might deliuer her Citie and the people of God (no doubt by the inspiration of the holy ghost) to murther Holophernes chiefe Captaine and Prince of the enemies forces, which she also most valiantly accomplished. Wherein although appeare many and most manifest tokens of heauenly direction, yet farre greater argumentes of Gods prouidence, are to be seene in the killing of this

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king, and the deliuering of the Citie of Paris, farre more difficult and harder to be brought to passe, then was the enterprise of Iudith, for this holy woman disclosed part of her intention before vnto the Gouernours of the Citie, and went not without great commendation of young and olde, through the gates of Bethalia, and by the watch, in sight and presence of the Elders, and Princes of that place: and by that meanes was not subiect vnto their examination and searching which is alwayes vsed so strictly in time of siedge and warre, that a flie can hardly without examining get by. She being come to the enemie, through whose campe and watches she was to goe, and now oftentimes examined and searched, being a woman, carrying no letters nor weapons about her, from whence any suspition might grow, & yeelding probable reasons of her comming there, and abandoning of her countrie, was easely discharged. As also for the same causes, & for her sexe and exquisite beautie being brought before this lewd Prince whom lust, wine, & good cheere had rockt a sleepe, might lightly perform that which she had determined before. But this religious man had vndertaken a matter of greater waight, and also performde it, which was compassed with so many impediments, difficulties & dangers, that it by no earthly meanes could haue beene brought to passe without the manifest ordinance, & speciall ayde of the almightie. First letters of cõmendation were to be procured from the enemie, then was he constrained to goe through that gate of the Citie, which directly went to the enemies campe, the which without doubt was so narrowly kept and watched in the extremitie of that siedge, that euery trifle bred suspition, & none were suffred to go forth without curious searching before, touching their letters, busines, and affaires they had. But he (a wonderfull thing) went by the watch vnexamined, yea with letters of commendation vnto the enemie, which if they had beene intercepted by the Citizens, without delay & further sentence he should haue beene executed presently, & therfore this is a manifest argument of Gods prouidence.

But this is a far greater miracle, that he without searching went also through the ennemies campe, by diuerse watches and sentinelles, and, which more is, through the garde of the kings body, and finally, through the whole army, which was compacted almost of none but Hugenotes and Heretickes, he being a religious man, and apparelled after the order of his profession, which was so odious vnto them, that they killed, or at least greatly misused all those friars, whome they found in those places, which not long before they had taken perforce about Paris. Judith was a woman, and nothing odious, yet examined oftentimes, she carried nothing about her that might haue turned to her danger or destruction. This man, a friar, and therefore hated, and most suspected, hauing also a knife prepared for that purpose, not put vp in a sheath, (which might haue made his circulation probable) but bare and hidden in his sleeue, which if it had bene found about him, presently without any further iudgement shoulde haue bene hanged. All these are such cleare arguments of the particular prouidence of God, that they cannot be denied or disproued: and it coulde not be otherwise, but that God blinded the eies of the ennemies, so that they could not see nor knowe him. For as we haue said before, although some absurdly ascribe this vnto fortune, or vnto some other such like accident, yet wee thinke good to referre all this to none else, but vnto the holy will and ordinance of God. And truely I coulde not beleeue this to haue bene done otherwise, vnlesse I shoulde captiue and submit my vnderstanding vnder the obedience of Christ his doctrine, who had determined by these miraculous meanes to vnset and deliuer the city of Paris (which as we haue heard hath bene in great daunger and extremitie) and iustly punish the hainous and notorious sinnes of that king, and take him away out of this worlde by such an vnhappie and infamous death. And we truely (not without great inward griefe) haue oftentimes foretold, that as he was the last of his name and familie, so was he like to haue, and make some strange and shamefull ende of his life.

life. Which, that I haue oftentimes said it, not onely the Cardinalles Ioiosa, Lenocurtius, and he of Paris, but also the Oratour at that time here resident, can sufficientlie witnesse and testifie. We will not seeme to call here to affirme our wordes, for those that are already deceassed, but the liuing, and some of them at this time present do yet wel remember them: yet notwithstanding we will not vnrippe all that we are able and forced to speake against this vnfortunate king, for the most noble realme of Fraunce it sake, which we shall prosecute and foster hereafter, as wee haue done alwayes before with all fatherly loue, honour, and affection. This therefore which we with griefe haue spoken toucheth onely the kinges person, whose vnhappie and vnluckie ende depriueth and exempteth him also of those duties and honours which this holie sea (the tender and gentle mother of all faithfull, but chiefly of christian Princes) is wont to offer vnto all Kinges and Emperours, which wee most willingly would likewise haue bestowed vpon him, if the holy scriptures in this case had not altogether forbidden it. There is, saith S. Iohn, a sin vnto death; I say not that any should pray for it, which may be vnderstode, both of the sin it selfe, as if he shoulde say, for that sin or for the remission or forgiuenes therof, I will that none should pray, because it is not pardonable. Or else in the same sense, for that man who committeth such a sin vnto death, I say not that any should pray for. Whereof our Sauiour himselfe hath spoken in S. Mathew, saying, that he that sinneth against the holie Ghost, shal not be pardoned, neither in this worlde, nor in the world to come. Where he setteth downe three sorts or kindes of sinne, to wit, against the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost, and that the two first are lesse hainous, and pardonable, but that the third is altogether vnpardonable, and not to be remitted. Al which difference procedeth from the destinction of the attributes, as the diuines teach vs, which seuerally are appropriated vnto euery seuerall person of the holy Trinitie. And although as the essence of all the three persons is but one, so also is their po-

wer, wisedome and goodnes, as we haue learned in the symbole of Athanasius, where he saith, almighty is the father, almighty is the Sonne, and almighty is the holy Ghost: yet by attribution, power is ascribed vnto the Father, wisedome vnto the Sonne, and loue vnto the holie Ghost, whereof euery seuerall as they are learned attributes, so are they so proper vnto euery seuerall person, that they can not be attributed and referred vnto any other. By the contraries of which attributes, we come to discerne the distinction and greatnes of sinne. The contrary to power, which is onely attributed vnto the Father, is weaknes, and therefore that which we doe amisse, through infirmity of nature, is said to be committed against the Father. The opposite vnto wisedome, is ignorance and blindnes, through which, when any man sinneth, is said to sinne against the Sonne, therefore that which we commit through naturall infirmity and ignorance, is more easier forgiuen vs. The thirde attribute, which is the holy Ghostes, is loue, & hath for his contrary ingratitude, and vnthankefulnes, a vice most detestable and odious, which causeth men not to acknowledge the loue of God, and his benefites bestowed vpon them, but to forget, despise, yea and to hate them. Whereout briefly, and finally proceedeth, that they become altogether obstinate and impenitent. And this way sinne is committed against God with greater danger and perill, then if it were done through ignorance and weaknesse of the flesh, and therfore it is termed, a sin against the holy Ghost. And because such sinnes are seldome and difficultly pardoned, and not without great aboundance of grace, in some sorte they are said to bee vnpardonable: whereas altogether through vnrepentance only, they become simply vnpardonable. For whatsoeuer is done amisse in this life: although it be against ỹ holy ghost, by repentance it may be wipt out & defaced before death, but they that persuere therin til death, are excluded from all grace & mercy hereafter. And therefore for such sinners and sinnes the apostle hath forbidden to pray after their decease. Now therefore because wee vnderstand, not

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without our great griefe, that the saide king is departed out of this worlde, without repentance and impenitent, in the company, to wit, of heretickes, (for all his army was made almost of none other but of such men) and that by his last wil he hath commended and committed his crowne and kingdome to the succession of Nauarre, long since declared an hereticke, and excommunicated, as also in his extremity, and nowe ready to yéelde vp his ghost, desired of him, and such like as he was there standing by, that they would reuenge his death vppon those whome hee iudged to be the cause thereof. For these and such like most manifest tokens of vnrepentance, we haue decréed not to solemnize his death with funeralles, not that we would séeme to coniecture by these any thing concerning the secrete iudgementes of God against him or his mercies, who could according vnto his good pleasure in the departing of his soule from the body cõuert and turne his heart, and deale with him mercifully: but this we haue spoken, being thereunto moued by these externall signes and tokens. God grant therefore that all, being admonished and warned by this fearefull example of heauenly iustice, may repent and amende, and that it may further please him to continue and accomplish that which he hath mercifully begunne in us, as we do put our trust in him, to the end we may giue euerlasting thanks to him, to haue deliuered his church from such great & imminent dangers. Whereof when his holines had spoken, he brake vp the Consistorie, & hauing giuen his blessing, let them al depart.

ANTISIXTVS.

The ages past haue séene many that vnnaturally haue rebelled against their country, and with violẽce defiled their hands with the blood of their princes and parents: but none yet that euer approued or commended the facte. But nowe of late, and in our dayes a notorious murtherer is come forth, the B. of Rome knoweth the cruell and bloody crime, and reproueth not the offendor, but prayseth him. This therefore is false, Sixtus, although it bée an olde

saying, that villanie and mischiefe is more easier committed then excused: whether I compare thee with Papinian, or rather with Caracalla, both notable tyrantes, yet it will holde in none of them both. With right then may I saye with thee, *factum est opus in diebus nostris*, there is wrought a worke in our dayes, to the eye and eare most detestable and grieuous, and horrible to be remembred and spoken of. The greatest and mightiest king of Europe lieth ouerthrowen and slaine by the treacherous fraude of a friar. But dost thou tearme this a worke onely? Nay, rather thou shouldest haue called it a most hainous, execrable, and cruell act: and therefore the more hainous, that not one of the common people, but thou the ruler of christendome, Christ his vicar, the gate of heauen, hast bene the aduocate, defender, and commender of this great offence. Truely, who can suffer the hands of priests, which by their lawes should be harmeleſſe, and vndefiled of all christen blood, although most guilty, to be embrued and stayned wyth the blood of a prince? Who should not curse and detest the bloody butchar of the father of his country? Haue not the incensed and angrie people, reason then to crie, torture, torture, and all things else where with such cruell monsters are to bee punished? Yet this is but small, Sixtus, and that which thou thinkest to be the greatest part of this villanous acte, is the least. Thou wyth it onely art to be charged, because thou alone art foumde that commendest priuie murtherers, and praisest manslaughter, and not onely giuest licence, without punishment to destroy, not a citizen, but a magistrate, not a magistrate, but a king, but dost also most impudently defend the deed, and teachest this to be the readiest and speediest way to heauen, with poison, sword, fraude and treason to kill Kings, that are the maiestie of mankinde, the true patterne of Celestiall power, and the liuelie Images of the King of Kings. And this is it, I thinke, *Quod vix credat quisquam cum narrabitur*, That none will beleeue it, though it shall bee tolde them, because the like was neuer heard amongest the Turkes. And the Tartarians,

and barbarous nations when they come to heare it, will for the straungenes thereof, presently shake and tremble. Is not this then great, cruell and execrable, great truelye it should be, if yet greater did not follow after. Why doest thou quake Sixtus, can there be saide any thing more haynouser: I truly, we are fallen in those daies, in the which the aboundance of wickednesse, maketh vs destitute of wordes, and in the which it is scarse counted trespas, which in times past hat béene most iustly executed as hie treason. So it is I say that the destinies of our age haue brought forth a villanous déede, not the like redde or hearde before. No time euer hath séene a king slaine by like treason, yet in the murther is something that will rather frette thee, then make thée to maruaile. Why should not the casuall hande of this inraged murtherer accomplish the like, that the premeditated and forecast counsel of the traitour hath performed? There haue béene some whom the wild boare hath slaine, some whom the stagge being intangled in the nettes, some died by the vnskilfull cutting of a vaine, some with the stroke of a horse héele, and finally if we loke narrowly vnto it, we shall finde almost so many kindes and sundry deaths of kinges, as there haue béene princes. And therfore, I tremble not so much at the strangenes of this as at the example thereof. I will not say, that thou the father of kinges in Christ, (for so thou louest to be tearmed) hast béene grieued, mourned, wept, and called vpon God, the strong reuenger of all iniquity, for this moste heauy chaunce, and misfortune of thy first begotten sonne, but (setting aside all piety and naturall affection) to haue vndertaken voluntarily and without compulsion the defence of the murtherer, maintayned with thy authority, argumentes, and lawes, the nocent innocency, of this accursed cut-throate, and in remembrance of thy sonne, to haue most cruelly inueighed against his dead body, and this it is, Sixtus, which I cannot heare, reade, or remember, with a quiet and vntroubled minde. Good God, I sée in one crime, two offences, two hainous murtherers, him first

who most treacherouslie hath assaulted his naturall Prince, then him who reuengeth not the destroyer of his sonne, but excuseth him, and is not contented to excuse him, but defendeth him, and doth not onely defende him, but praiseth him, yea by a most exquisite and singular comparison, canonizeth him amongst his Saintes of Heauen. Auoid, auoide therefore hence, all naturall affection, Sixtus hath banished thes out of the Romaine Empire. As long as hee raigneth goe visite the Tartarians and Muskouites, and other more barbarous nations if there be any, here are none that will intertaine thee, no not receaue thee without thy perill. But O yee Frenchmen, it were not manfully done, to leaue vnreuenged the death of your most Christian King, who will suffer them to triumphe with proude orations, ouer the treacherous murthering of your prince: Let mee bee nothing esteemed off, if I reuenge it not, and requite this vnto thee, Sixtus, giue eare onely vnto mee, and that our posterity may know thee, and thy vile and bloudy executioner, and al those that were of this conspiracy first hear in short and true words the chaunce of this mighty Potentate, that by the greatnes of the murther, all our succession may iudge him guiltie hereof, that did defend it.

The Historiographers haue written diuers causes of the originall of the ciuill wars, in the time of Charles the ninth, according as they were ledde with loue, and hate which they did beare vnto the Potentates, and Nobility of Fraunce, yet it is knowen to euery man, that after the departure of Henrie the thirde into Poloma, the house of Guise chiefely the two brethren Fraunois and Charles, Cardinalls, through a desire of raigning, haue corrupted first their owne, and then all the counsell of the Realme. For Empires first of all must be troubled, and shaken before they can bee ouerthrowne and subuerted. And from thence all these ciuill warres haue taken their beginning. At that present the Kinges house, was yet mighty and strong, with diuers brethren and kinsemen: vnto whome the Crowne without contradiction after the decease of the King belongeth. And vnlesse they were all

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dispatched, the Guises knew verie wel that their hope was but vaine. Amongst the Kinges kindred, Lodowick prince of Condy was most feared, as one indewed with singular graces, and alone sufficient to sustaine all their attemptes, and to breake and bring to naught all their desperate enterprises. Who whether he now long since hath leste this worlde, to the good or bad fortune of this Realme, through the popes authority, and ancient Romane religion, hauing followed as they say the better, (for at that time there was a great talke ouer all christendome, of a reformation of all heretical errors and opinions) I know not. But first they set vpon him accusing him of heresie, and corrupting of religion, which then was a difficult and hainous crime, & hauing him first sued in law, as an enemy of the apostolike Sea, presently after persecuted him with sword and fire. He on the other side not disprouided & destitute of corage, frends and helpe, (the new religion now being spred in al citties of France, and euerie day the number of his increasing, being likewise aided by the counsell of the chiefest and best of the Realme, who detested and hated the Guises great ambitiō, and suspected their power) did valiantly withstand them. And here out is first come the vnhappy distinction of the names of Catholiks and protestants, and the deadly & mortall diuision of this Realme, which I feare me, can neuer be agrēde againe, vnlesse by a long peace, and great loue, all causes of ambition, bee removed and quite taken away: broils now being raised euery wher, which thē might haue been easely repressed, vnles the fatal destinies of France had letted it, the Guises proclaime open war against ỳ prince of Conde and al heretikes, and easely perswaded therunto the king himselfe, and his mother, a very desperat and an audacious woman. And now seeing that they could bring his M. to consent vnto al wherevnto the thought good themselues, for the finall experience which he had, caused presently all those whom they thought were aduersaries vnto their subtil dealings, partly through feare and accusation of the like offence of heresie, to voide the court, & by al means sought

to stirre vp the rest to ciuill iarres with a hope of spoile and such like nouelties. Call moreouer Philip King of Spaine, and thy predecessor Sixtus, vnto their ayde. Promise vnto the king then occupied in the Lowe Countries, that France should nothing hinder or moleſt him: and vnto the Bishop of Rome an euerlasting warre against the enemies of the holy Sea. For they perswaded vnto themselues that their intent could neuer, or hardly at the least be brought to passe, as long as the common wealth flourished with peace and quietnesse, but it being once troubled and with seditions, disquieted, should make it easie, and this their thought was not amisse. For the Princes of the Royall bloud being all dispatched, the strongest and mightiest of whom, was now assaulted with open warre, they hoped that the rest should eyther die in warre or for the affinitie which they had with the Prince of Conde in hope of the Crowne, would some depart from the Court, and finally that then, Charles and his brethren but children, might be without labour conuayed away and murthered. And to that effect they began warre, and with these torches haue kindled first the fire of ciuill discorde in France: but the last destinies and extreme calamities of the Realme were not yet come, for as in our bodies a dangerous disease is oftentimes long felt before, and with diuers paines and grieues the forces thereof are assaulted and wearied before they are broken and ouercome: euen so the like befalleth with Empires and kingdomes. But both the brethren departed first out of this world before they could accomplish and make an end of their long practised enterprises. Francis died at the siedge of Orleans, at the threescore and three yeares of his age, hauing left behind him three sonnes, Henry Duke of Guise, Charles Duke de Mayne, and Lodouick a Cardinall not yet come out of their childhoods. But in whom as there appeared sparkes of domesticall prowesse, so in them seemed to be no feare of vice. Vnto whom he left not onely good store of treasure, and great reuenewes, but also a hope of a large Empire, his dammable practises, and

sparkles

sparkles of ciuill warre. But in the meane while the king & his brethren grew in age, before the Lions whelpes were capable of their fathers ferocitie, and so France turning her former mind, began to worship, honor, & obay her Princes, now come to full age and full of courage & magnanimitie, whom she neuer before had seene but children. But chiefly respected Henry, whom comlines of body, perfect age, & valure in armes commended & aduanced to the gouernment of outlandish Nations. And thus by little and litle their vaine ambition hath beene repressed, but in tract of time other occasions of euill were presented. Charles dieth, whether by destinie or poyson it is vncertaine. And I haue no leasure at large to discourse vpon this point, & to rehearse from the beginning this tragidie: but yet this is most true, a litle before his departure out of this worlde, seeing his estate greatly weakned by the tediousnes of war & cruel murthers & massacres euery day cõmitted vpon his subiects, & the treasure of this Reamle consumed & spent, Italy & Spain laughing at it, inuaighed with sharpe & threatning words against the authors hereof, and this was peraduenture the occasion of his vntimely death. Henry the third succeeded him, whom whether Polonia hath suffred with greater griefe to depart from thence, or France receiued him with more ioy it is doubtfull. He warned by his brothers example, as soone as he had set & established the affaires of his realme in good order, gaue his mind wholly to the studie of peace, knowing very well that ciuill broyles are alwaies good for them that affect crownes and kingdoms, but naught to them ỹ raigne & weare thẽ. From hence is come the first originall of this mischief, for thou & thine Sirtus would neuer commend the kings most wholsom counsell, thy drifts tending to nothing els but by sword & fire to confirme thine own sauegard, litle regarding by what law or with what condition one rained so ỹ those perished together with their crowns whom thou didst hate & couldst not abide. And so by litle & litle the remẽbrance of so many victories, and so many bloud-sheds, committed for the Sea of Romes sake, grew stale, & presently

after enuie began to swel in the peoples minds daily corrupted by the seditious sermons of Friars, not delaying vnto ỹ most godly vow of their Prince, but infecting it. And so it was easie to make an entrie for mischiefe to follow. The Duke of Guise in ỹ meane time with his two brethren increased in age, power and fauor by the Catholikes, as their father was before, & at the first cõmended thẽselues sundrie wayes vnto them, and hauing prospered reasonably vnder Henry being not yet come to ỹ crowne, saluted courteously euery one that met thẽ, although one of ỹ simplest amongst the cõmon people, spake to them, & left nothing vndone to steale away the hearts of the commonalte, all true signes & tokens of an ambitious mind practising & attempting some nouelties. Spread abroad false reports, to rayse priuie grudges & displeasures amongst the Nobilitie: and finally Francis the kings youngest brother being now departed out of this life either by sickines or fraud, ietted to & fro through all cities beraied yet with the bloud of those of the reformed religion, fearing for their massacres a iust reuenge. Lamented the cõmon miserie, & vnlesse there should be looked vnto in time, affirmed that after the death of the king (which too true they sayde should be ere long) they all should become subiects againe of an Heretike, & endure all bondage, miserie, & slauery whatsoeuer. But that they would display their power against it, & the promised and ready succor of Spaine & Italy, to defend & protect by it their liberties, and the Catholike religion: these things are knowen vnto euery man, & the king himself hath bin aduertised of thẽ by diuers spyes since the yeare 77. & yet for lacke of punishment, as it is often seene, grew marueilous strong. Let therefore the posteritie iudge whether this is come to passe through too great a clemency, or by some fatall negligence of all French men.

In the yere 1585. Ianus temple being shut vp in France, & a happy peace flourishing in all the realme, no external or domesticall enemy once knowne, the Duke of Guise with all the house of Lorraine hauing conspired together, take the weapons in hande, the only cause therof was a crowne,

their

their cloake and probable occasion, pietie & religion, a care for the realme, now ill gouerned, a pitte to see the commontie with exactions pould and oppressed, and an intent to reduce all things in good order. They hauing put this vizard vpon their rebellion, by their first writinges published in theyr names, complayned of the publicke calamities, of the weakenesse of the kings friendes, of the Realmes treasure wasted and spent, notwithstanding the dayly increases of tallages and tributes, and that the people were altogether vnable longer to endure this heaue burthen. Besides nothing. Something by the way as concerning religion and Heretikes. For vndoubtly they would not that so many ennemies should be rayled vp at once, thinking that the king had drawen hatred and enuie enough vpon his head by the gouernement of his realme, and that therefore they had sufficient matter and occasion of warre. It is most euident truly through the priuate grudge which they did beare vnto their king & the Duke Espernon, that some small and casuall trifles of anger haue beene the first cause of these last troubles. In reuenge whereof so many dead bodyes, so many murthers, and finally the death of the king himselfe, and the ruine of the whole Realme, haue all scarce suffised. But warned by a Spaniard who misliked the order of making the accounts of the Realme, as also by the Sixtus, that looked for no benefite to fall vnto thy share by this warres, but by the ouerthrowe of the Heretikes, they chaunge their Ensignes, and proclayme open warre against those of the reformed Religion.

Hereuppon presently the Pope sent his thunderboltes, whereby he excluded the King of Nauarre (at this present ruling in Fraunce) and the Prince of Conde, vnheard, innocent, and thinking nothing such, from his Apostolicke blessing: but hereby may easely appeare, that God and none of the Apostles were present at the rash iudgement of the cause. They nowe hauing turned their song, spake nothing more of the king, or his gouernement but only in his singular cómendation. Extolled the prime of

his age, admonished him of his former valour and prowesse, and with exquisite wordes shewed that the memorie of so many victories, wherewith he had so oftentimes repressed & abated the courage of the Heretiks, was yet recent & fresh. That his time of rest was not yet come, and that vnto such a valiaunt and strong Prince the victory of the battaile, and the slaughter of a whole nation belonged. Moreouer, they laide before his eies his oldnesse and want of children, and their miseries wherin they were like to fall, if after the decease of such a most Christian king (with dissembling wise they saide that they greatly feared) they should be forced to submitt themselues vnder the yoke and bondage of an heretick. Finally desired his Maiestie, that it would please him, to appoint Charles of Borbon Cardinal, being weakned with age and sickenesse, haire vnto the Crown reiecting Nauarre: And breaking the alliance and treaty of peace, with the hereticks, should take armes against them: which if he liked & wold perform, they neuer would refuse any due obedience vnto him their lawful prince. Shewed besides that they had their swordes ready, and sufficient wealth and aide, wherewith they might not only reuenge themselues vppon the Heretickes, but also vpon their fauourers. The duke of Guise hauing spoken thus, not tarrying if the King would further determine hereupon, hauing gathered forces for to assault those of the reformed religion, made them indeede to march against the King himselfe, dispossessed him partly by force and partly by policy, frō such Citties as hee could, where the name of Luther or Caluin had neuer been heard, robbed their treasure, impoled new tributes vpon them, and finally where no enimy was, exercised all hostility and crueltie. The king in the meane time destitute of courage and good counsel rather then of force, distrusted himselfe, for his corrupted friends told him wonders of the Guises power and army, and feared him that if the catholikes should but once heare the name of Hereticks, they would presently all retire, and goe backe from him. That he should linger therefore a while, vntill he had heard the

counsell

counsell of his nereſt friendes, who with all ſpeede if neede required would ſone prouide all neceſſaries for the warre: and ouercom by the coũſell of his mother, who alwaies had fauoured the contrarie ſide, and fraighted by the Ieſuites vaine ſuperſtitions was not brought but drawen thereũto. And ſo the articles of peace were agreed vpon, and concluded betweene him and the duke of Guyſe, and warre intended againſt thoſe of the reformed religion, vnto whom by generall proclamation was commaunded to departe at the appointed tyme out of the realme, otherwiſe to ſtand to the aduenture and hazard of their liues.

About the end of the ſame yeare great forces were rayſed vp and enrolled, the duke de Maine was ordained chiefe ouer them, and being ſent into Guyan or Aquitane, returned next yeare againe wyth little good ſucceſſe, recalled, as they ſay, by his brother, who impatient of all delayes was hered alike with enuy, anger, and ambition, cryed, that the enuemie was not for to be ſought for, that hee was at hand, and ſtode before the dore, that the head of a Prince onely greeued him, and hindred his enterpriſes, and finally, that he onely was to be aſſaulted, omitting and leauing the other. And ſo riſeth againe againſt the king, being occupied in other warres: and that hee coulde not obtaine by his firſt rebellion, by this he forceth it. Complaineth, that his brother was forſaken in Aquitane, fruſtrated, and deſtitute of men, money, and munition: as alſo that hee was not ſent ſooner againſt the enemie, before all the treaſure of the realme was ſpent for to lacke nothing. That theſe were ſure arguments, that the Catholikes were betrayed, that his Maieſties mind was corrupted by ill counſell: and thoſe whome he ſhould loue and embrace, that hee hated and deſpiſed them, and that therefore it could not be but hee had intelligence with the Heretikes. And finally, if hee reiected and diſherited not the king of Nauarre, and the Prince of Condy, and openly would appoint and declare a ſucceſſor, that there was nothing remayning, that all good and godly catholickes ſhould any longer commit their liues and ſafety

vnto the protection of a dissembling Prince, who did all things wyth delay, and proclaimed warre wyth his tongue agaynst them, and called for peace wyth his hearte. This was spread abroade, Souldiours are taken vppe, and agayne a newe contracte of Peace was to bee made for agreement. The King at one tyme cumbred wyth two enemies, thought it necessarie, that wyth one of them an appoyntment was to be concluded, gaue care againe vnto his mothers counsell: and againe, by her meanes agreede wyth the Guyse. Hee deneth him little, deliuereth vnto him the demaunded Cities, and commaundeth newe forces to be taken vppe, to inuade Aquitane the dwelling place of those of the reformed Religion, and publisheth agayne newe and cruell Ordinances and Statutes against them.

The Guyse nowe hauing obtayned his purpose, and thinking that he was crept farre enough in the peoples fauour, to vndertake and enterprise whatsoeuer pleased him: and that the Prince was brought into sufficient hatred, that all thinges were sette in a hurlie burlie, that the heartes of the Communaltie were dismayed, and that now but little hindered hym to come vnto his pretence, watched for a fitte opportunitie to bring to passe his long deuised practises; when Fortune almost dashed and threwe hym downe vnawares. For reporte was spread, that a great armie of high Germanes was come already into the frontiers of the Realme, to the ayde and assistance of the reformed Religion. And moreouer, how the king of Nauarre hauing repulsed and driuen backe nine armies in the space of two yeares, and ouerthrowne the Duke of Ioieuse, made haste for to goe meete the Germanes wyth his chiefest and chosen forces. Which reporte made the Duke, his allies, and conspirators not alittle amazed, fearing that the king now better aduised, and hauyng gotten a fitte opportunitie to reuenge hymselfe vppon their pride and arrogancie, might turne both the armies vppon them, vnsufficient and altogether vnable to resist and withstand so great a power, as also that they might be discomfited before, ere euer they

they shoulde perceyue it. And their feare was not vaine altogether. For at the same tyme the King of Nauarre had sent his Ambassadours vnto his Maiestie, requesting hym to vse his, and the Germaine forces against the common ennemie of the Realme. But heere it manifestly appeareth, that the King was neuer more betrayed then at that present. Here sure tokens are to be seene of his corrupted and disloyall counsell, which, if hee had vsed the benefite of the tyme, shoulde haue wythout any daunger recouered altogether his former libertie, restored his realme to her former grace, and established an euerlasting peace amongest his Subiectes. But God had otherwise appointed it.

The Duke of Guyse at this tyme was forced to rest and pawse a whyle, but soone after incouraged agayne, by the counsell of his especiall friendes, whom hee had alwayes about the kings person, and who were priuie vnto all hys secretes, setting aside his fathers practises, had recourse vnto his mothers pollicies. Hee writeth Letters vnto his Maiestie, and wyth an humble style, indeuoureth to proue his mind to haue bin gentle and tractable alwayes, and neuer repugnant vnto any contract of peace. Further prayeth him to impute rather all things past vnto the destinies, then vnto the malice of men, protesting also, that he, and his, were alwayes minded to honour, ayde, and assiste their Prince, whose death they feared therefore the more, because his successor was vnknowne, and like to be farre inferiour vnto him, and if they were resolued of one doubt, that his Maiesty needed not to doubt, but that all things then should prosper and succeed according vnto his owne wishing. Promiseth him also a strong aide against the inuading and approching Germans, & with many words declareth, that the ancient enimies of the Realme were to be driuen out, who beeing once put to flight, they were like to enioy an eternall and a ioyfull peace. This is easely perswaded vnto the king, his greatest friendes about him, and especially his mother stopping vp the way alwayes vnto good counsell.

And

And by these means the king of Nauarre his aduice most profitable vnto the Realme, being reiected and neglected, an entrie was made againe vnto all deceit and disloyalty. The king assembleth a great armie together, and with his presence doth incourage it, sendeth the Duke of Guyse before to stop the passage vnto the Germanes, and if he coulde not bring them to a battel, should at the least weary them with continuall skirmishes and inuasions. The king remained in the meane time about the riuer of Loyre. The German forces marched forward, and were come into the inwarde parts of the Realme wythout any resistance, to the great feare and terrour of all the countrey. When the same fortune, which not long before had almost ouerthrowen the Guyse, presenteth vnto him a farre brauer occasion luckely to procede in his enterprise. For the ennemy beeyng brought by some crosse lucke betweene the Loyre and the Seine, and wearied wyth a long winter, continuall clouds and raines, want and distresse of al necessaries, were forced for their better safetie without delay to go ouer the riuer to ioyne themselues wyth the king of Nauarre his forces. But the Duke of Guyse preuented and surprised them vppon a sodaine in the night, made a great slaughter amongest them, and killed about twelue hundred of them, taketh many, and putteth the rest to flight: and if Monsieur Chastillion had not beene there at that present, all this great army shoulde haue beene scattered and ouerthrowen in one night: yet notwythstanding the weake remnaunt marched forward. And the King iealous of the victorie, committeth one parte of his forces vnto Espernon to pursue the ennemy, and hymselfe followed not farre behinde. But hauing vnderstode the Germanes shamefull yelding, returneth againe to Paris.

All stormes of feare now ouerblowne and past, the duke of Guyse inboldened wyth this vnlooked for and good successe, thought good not to seeke hereby so much praise, as thereby to procure all hatred and enuy vnto his Maiestie. To that effect secret reportes were spread abroad, whereby this

this new conquering Captaine was exalted and lifted vppe vnto the skie. The Germaine spoiles, to wit their horses, weapons, and all other array were ledde and carried in triumphe through the Citties. And when the people were flocked together in great troups, to see this new sight, ther were alwaies certaine declarors and tellers of the battaile among them: The number of the dead persons and ensignes, was augmented, the manner of the fight was made very difficult, bloudy, and dangerous for ẏ conquerors: and most of this was fall, for it is wel knowē that ẏ companies of Collonel Donon now heauy with wine and sleepe, were surprised and oppressed, where they had no place to fight, or to escape. And that not one of the duke of Guyses souldiers were found wanting. Besides after the great ouerthrowe of so mighty an army, that such small remnants haue bēen able to ouercome so many distresses, and come in safety to their iournies end: that it came not by any fault that might haue bēene in the duke of Guise, but by the kings and the duke Espernons negligence and small care, vnto whom he had left the chase of the weake remnand of pages and scullions onely, hauing atchieued himselfe all the difficulties of the warre, and either slaine or taten the chosen and valliant Captaines and souldiers therof. And notwithstanding al this, that by their meanes they were al safely arriued to the king of Nauarre, to depriue the victorie of her due honor and prayse, and to hinder therewith the more the good commodities that might haue ensued herby vnto the whole realm. That they at the first followed them for very shame, but so slackely, that they that were already vanquished, might easely escape without running. And now when they sawe, that the hurt, wearie, and sicke men could not fly away or escape, who should haue al bēene put to the sword, or at the least imprisoned, by the lawes of armes and ordinances of the Realme, to haue giuen and graunted vnto them (for a counterfaite yeelding and submission onely) their lifes, horses, and furniture, therewith to inuade the Realme againe, and moreouer vnto some of them all

their goods. By these deuises, hatered and enuy, being procured and prouoked: the ill aduised Prince, but to late, acknowledging his errour, in vaine began to wishe for this most fitte and neglected opportunity of reuengement, yet being come to Paris, spendeth the rest of the winter in repayring and renewing of his forces, publishing an expedition against those of the reformed religion, which he himselfe prepared the nert Sommer following, either by these meanes to drawe againe vnto him the hearts of the commonalty altogether affectionated vnder the coullour of religion vnto the Guyse, or that hee had determined to doe it, importunated thereunto by the Iesuites continuall outeries, assuring him daily of certaine argumentes of Gods wrath against the Heretikes, and in briefe a happye end and issue of all his warres against them.

In the year eightie eight, which was feared should haue beene fatall vnto all the Worlde, the Guise taketh new aduise and counsaile, howe to come to a happie end of his long continued hope, and to enioy the fruites thereof. Complaineth that so oftentimes ciuill warres haue beene moued in vaine against the king of Nauarre, whereof the issue was doubtfull, the profite vncertaine, or to late at the leaste. That his Maiesty could not bee deceiued, but coulde be oppressed, and ỹ one of two enemies once being dispatched, that with lesse labour the other was to be ouerthrown and vanquished. That he had al thinges ready to supplant the first, and then afterwarde would fall vppon him who was yet remayning. That it was to bee hastened, and not to bee slepte vppon. Begynneth therefore nowe no lesse to hate and enuy the King, then before he had done the Heretickes. That Fortune had offered him this good opportunity, which if hee shoulde let it slippe by, hee might wishe afterward for it, when it was past recouery. Moreouer (the Germaines nowe repulsed) that nothing was remaining that might cause him to feare. That al hope of out-landishe aide and assistance was cut off vnto the King of Nauarre, by whose faulte all Germany and

England

England did crie out, that so great an army, so many Nobles, and such number of valiaunt Captaines and souldiers were discomfited and slaine. And that the king himselfe was sore wearied and broken with long during warres, and although Conquerour of many battailes, yet had lost notwithstanding all the chiefest of his souldiers, and those that were escaped, either for want, and nerde, or for a desire of quietnesse, wished onely for peace. And that with them therefore hee shoulde haue but litle to doe: hereupon thinking most expedient not to make any further delayes, furiously taketh now the thirde time the weapons in hand: message is brought vnto his M. and reports euery where spred abroad, not as before, that Citties are surprised, that the people rise in armes, that musters are taken, and such like signes of mischiefe yet far off, and to be preuented diuers waies, but that the Duke commeth in person himselfe. And no sooner was it spoken, but he was scene in deede, arriueth in Paris very troublesomely (where the king was at that time) where hee had laid long before ready and trusty ambushes, partly for the mutinous mindes of that common people, as also for the great number of conspirators in that Citty: as it is most certaine that no where kinges and princes can be more easier oppressed then in their imperiall Citties. But the first night of his arriuall he was quiet, wearied (God hauing so disposed it, for the Prince his safegard yet altogether vnprouided) that all thinges were not yet currant and ready. But next day morning soundeth alarme, putteth the kings garrisons to the sword, and marcheth directly to the Louure his Maiesties pallace, with the mutinous & bloudy people to besiege their sworne Prince. The king amased at this sudain accident and vpror, vnto whose honor it stood not to fly away, not to his safety to expect his enemy w̄ disadvantage in no indifferent place, yet w̄ the lord chiefe Iustices souldiers, and with his gard of Switzers resisteth their assalts for a day or twaine. But seeing ỹ people to arm themselues against him, & al things to go backward w̄ him

and no hope of any helpe or succour, escaped safely among the inraged clamours of the desperate multitude, crying nothing but sworde and fire, and came to Lions. The well-minded and affectionated subiects vnto their King, coulde not brooke and beare such an outragious iniury. Their hearts turned therfore vppon a suddaine, & the case now altered, doe pitty their Prince. The pillers of the Realme, the nobility, the commons, and the better and sounder part of the clergie came in poste vnto his Maiesty. They exclaime all against the house of Lorraines great presumption, and said that punishment was to be done which should equal, or rather exceede the greatnesse of the offence. They promise vnto the king all aide and furtherance, if it woulde onely please him (giuing ouer all other, yea rather the heretikes themselues who neuer dared the like) to ouergoe this greefe. The king subiect vnto his destiny, seemeth to bee touched with this readinesse of his affectionated subiectes, but yet is nothing moued with it. But thanketh euery one very soberly, as if he had had no neede at all, aunswereth quietly vnto them, that hee wanted neither courage nor force to reuenge his priuate iniuries, and that it was not needefull to sustaine two ciuill wars in one realme, where one sufficed, & was rather too much. And herwith sent thē al home againe, intending againe reconciliation. If the posterity wil beleue one telling the truth, let it without doubting beleeue this with mée, that nothing more touched and moued the hearts of Frenchmen, then to see their Kings great patience, not despising, but scarce approuing the most ready mindes of his subiects, in the reuengement of the publike and common shame and dishonor. Let the posterity also vpon my word, boldly say that Queene Katherine his mother, was the only cause of his deadly sound and vnsensiblenes, vnto whose faithfull helpe and aide, the Guyse toke his refuge, as soone as hee perceaued that his matters wold not forge, and that the commō people were altered for this iniurie done vnto the king, and that the Nobility, and the chiefest of his begaune to bee discomforted, discouraged,

and

and draw backe from him. Now this third time Henry giueth place vnto his mothers aduice, and hearkeneth vnto her counsell: now this third time an agreement is concluded with great ioy of all the conspirators, who thought it to be no smal fauor thus easily to haue escaped deserued punishment for their mutinie and rebellion. But the wise yet feared in generall that this wound could not be closed vp and healed without a foule scarre remayning, or that hee who had once presumed to beate his Prince out of his Imperiall Citie, should not want audacitie to attempt some further matter. All things now pacified, a Parleament is proclaimed and published, generally to determine vpon the common affaires of the lande, vpon an agreement of the administration of the Realme, for assurance of succession of the Crowne: and finally that these small tumults & iarres (for so the conspirators of the kings ouerthrow and sworne his bane termed it onely,) might haue an end and cease among the Catholikes, that a mortall warre should be intended and concluded against the Heretikes. But the king and the Guise, had farre different and contrarie meanings: the Prince his intent was, now hauing recouered againe his authoritie, to bridle the common enemie of France condemned by full Parleament. But how difficult and harde this was to doe, and how full of trouble and daunger, the euent and issue thereof hath taught it vnto vs. The Guise on the otherside to exclude the king of all gouernement by the authoritie of the whole estate, that vnto him onely (Nauarre and the rest of the bloud royall supplanted) the administration of the whole Realme might be committed. And so farre he had almost brought it, none being come to this generall Counsell, but those that were of the conspiracie.

And so the Parleament was kept at Bloys, where the king shewed at large in the face of the full assembly, his great affection towards the Catholikes, his benefits sundry times most largely bestowed vpon them, how many victories he had gotten vpon the Heretikes, how oftentimes he

had altogether discomfited and put them to flight, how many thousands of them he had sent to Hell, being in maner but a childe: and now a man that he had no lesse stomacke & courage then he had in his yonger age. And that he neuer was minded to suffer in his realm any religion, contrary to the seruice of God. But that he had bene forced through the peoples great miserie & want, wearied, and discouraged with so many ciuill warres to dissemble his desire and meaning. And to delay all thinges till a fitter time and opportunitie, which could not haue bene vsed at that instant without great danger. But that he had also learned by sundrie tryalles, and long experience, that by peace and generall quietnesse, the corrupted minds of the inconstant people were with lesse labour drawne vnto godlinesse, then when by the sound of warre once noysed abroade, and by the brightnes of swordes and armours once seene and perceiued great liberty to al licentiousnes, was giuen to mutinous & seditious heads: that the church was not to be reformed and purged by villanies, wherewith all wars were for the most parte infected, but chiefly the domestical & ciuil broiles: But that it was to be done, by godly maners, good examples, by the preaching of the worde of God, by humilitie, and feruent prayers. That this hath bene his only mind, euen when the Guyse in the yere 1585. took first the weapons in hand, troubled the people & common peace, whereunto he was not yet altogither repugnant: but forced for the general welfare of his subiects, that he armed himself ful sore against his wil, & that nothing now was remaining which was not consumed & wasted by wars. He reckoned them the armies since the time of 3. yeers, and how much money there was spent in: and that it greeued him very much, that so many valiant soldiers were destroyed, so great a treasure cõsumed in waste, wherewith a great kingdome might haue bene ioined to his. But thus far more, that he had in the meane time receiued more harme and dammage by his friends, then euer he had done by his enemies, and that the issues of his wars & victories had bin rather hindered and stopped by the ambition of some,

sowe, then by the forces and power of the enemie prevented. That he was not withstanding fully determined not to lay down the weapons, before he had overthrowen & quite rooted out all the rebelles, although they all should stand against it, & should be feared that it might turne to the utter ruine & destruction of the whole realm: that at the least this cloake and coullour being taken away, he might be able to hold & keepe every man from hence forward in their duetie & obedience. That therefore they should determine by what meanes, what money, & souldiers this might be done most commodiously. That they were called to that intent. As touching the other affaires of the realme, as the reformation of the Clergie, of the treasure, easie subsidies, tributes, and tallages, setteth downe ordinances and causeth thereof writings to be made. The Commissioners & assignes harken unto the Kings doubtfull Oration with a merry and gnatonical countenance, & with many flattering words having praised him in whose overthrow & undoing they were assembled and sworne, demanded a certaine time to determine upon it. And in the meane while ý this was a doing not without the great expectation of all men, *Iudos hominibus dens facit*, they feede the king onely with fancies.

The Guise fearing that the Prince (provoked with so many injuries) would not suffer long these delaies, and that he would seeke and finde meanes for revenge: and seeing that all had bended their eyes upon him, and expected for some greater thinges which should farre exceede the first: that Nauarre without iustice and law unheard and not to be heard was rejected and condemned: that nothing was wanting but to dispatch the King: *semel audet & audet*, both most earnestly desires it, and dares it.

He charged every man being of the conspirators to provide, and prepare the rest. This charge hee undertoke himselfe, this burden he layd upon his owne shoulders: And thinking ý now the time was come to make a happie end of his fathers before, but now his enterprises, calleth the chiefe of the conspiracie, amongst whō were Lodouick the

Cardinall his brother and the Arch-bishop of Lyons the chiefest. Vnto them and vnto some few other he declareth and sheweth in what state his matters stande, sayth that al things are brought to some effect, that nothing is obstant but the Prince only, besides that he was driuen to such extremities, that eyther hee or the king must perish. That they therefore should see, whether he were to be dispatched, or vntill such times imprisoned till all thinges were confirmed and established for a new gouernement. And that there was no other meane or *medium* to be found. They cry all that this is not to be delayed, that fetters and prison are altogether vnprofitable, that no caue or denne hold déepe soeuer, were able to kéepe close so great and mightie a potentate, as long as he liued would alwayes thirst after reuenge, but as some as he should be dispatched, that new deuises should be practised, newe counsels taken, and that euery man would rather fall againe to their priuate, present, and sure commodities, then to attempt olde and dangerous enterprises. But contrariwise if he were kept prisoner, it would séeme cruell and strange vnto the common people, and altogether vntollerable. That they of late after the kings flying away from Paris, had found and learned by experience that pittie preuailed more then fauour. Finally that hereupon they néeded not long to beate their braines: but that hee was to be conueyed away and dispatched out of hande, Hereunto they all condescend. Now vpon the death of their Lord the seruantes determine, the annointed of the Lord and reuerenced of so many Nations is bequeathed vnto their bloudie swordes. The day nowe appointed, and their desperate wickednesse sealed with an oth, they all depart. It was not néedefull to haue any bewraying hereof, for it was not vnknowen, but vnto them which were remoued into the vtmost partes of Europe, that this was the Guises pretence, and had béene long since. To what end tended else the arming of his rebellious handes, so often against his Prince? But certaine it is that he was aduertised by the Duke de Nayne yet liuing of his brothers

brothers vngodly practises wyth these wordes: that his Maiestie should take heede of a furious and desperate mind. And one of the conspirators (as it is most alwayes seene in such like actions) moued in conscience, disclosed vnto his Maiestie the whole conspiracie, the day appointed, the tokens, the conspirators themselues: but in so short a tyme, that he had scarce opportunitie to escape this imminent daunger. The king now destitute of al meanes of deliberation, and beaten wyth his owne rod, ouerthrowed not the conspirators, but preuented them in one day.

There was hope that this burning fire of ciuill broyles should haue bin quenched, seeing that the flaming torches of these tumults were now extinguished. And it pleased God, Sixtus, that France should nowe enioie peace, but not thy Holinesse. Hereupon the conspirators, who were not the better, but the greater parte beganne to hang downe theyr heades, to seeke holes to hide themselues, and through feare to runne to their holdes and places of defence. One parte gaue ouer their enterprise, and brake their faith giuen. But shortly after when they saw, that the Prince by some fatall and disasterous lenitie, vsed no further rigour against them, that he was satisfied wyth the punishment of two only, that he had but imprisoned sire, and had sent away the rest vntouched: and that the siege of Orleans which hee had begunne to batter but slackely, was rayled by the comming of the Mayne. Then suddenly they beganne to runne as mad men, beganne to strike alarme, to surprise Cities, to slaunder the name and credite of their Prince, wyth diuerse outragious speaches: To disanull and abolishe the Lawes, the Magistrates, and all that was royall in the Realme, all that was sacred and auncient, and to induce newe, strange, and intollerable ordinances. Finally, driuen wyth a senselesse fury, to exercise tyranny and crueltie against themselues: insomuch, that almost no Citie or towne hath escaped, their owne Citizens massacres, robberies, banishments, proscriptions, and yet farre greater cruelties then the enemy himselfe coulde haue imagined. And this

through a iust iudgement of God, iustly taking vengeance, for so many murthers, sheading of innocent blod, and unnumerable villanies by them committed. And by these meanes, a more desperate, and bloodie warre then euer was before, is nowe renewed. The Mayne who a little before had beene the bewraier and accuser of his brothers treason, is chosen chiefe of these inraged and desperate companies. Whereupon suddenly the whole Realme beginneth to rebell. And truly (freely I would haue it to be spoken) by the kings owne fault, who euer had reiected al good, wholsome, and profitable counsell, before he was driuen to these extremities. Paris gaue vnto the rest an example of rebellion, as it was reason, she being the first, inriched with sundry gifts of kings, and the imperiall of the Realme. All the rest followed, few onely excepted. And as they were before striuing who shoulde be more affectionated vnto his prince, so nowe they contend who shal exceed in outragiousnes against him. And to the end that nothing should be wanting to the fulnes of their treacherie, they require and seeke for thy authoritie Sixtus, for the iudgements of the diuines, for the consent of the clergie, and al was presently at their command. Vrban, one of the Magistrates in Paris, demaunding in the full assemblie of those of the Sorbonne, Whether the Frenchmen could be godly and honestly released from their othes made vnto the king. Answere was made, that they could. This answere is brought vnto the Magistrate, and with drawne swords is commaunded to approue the same. The Senat flatly denieth such a wicked acte to be lawfull & worthy of the ancient loyaltie of France. And sitting a little vpon it, the mutinous people brake opē the gates of the pallace, and seise not vpon one or two of the Magistrates, but vpon them all, and cast the whole bench in prison, the onely maiestie of the Realme. Presently a newe Counsell is chosen, which approuing the answere of the vngodly diuines, discharged the people of their othes: thrust the king out of his kingdome. The Clergie commendeth this new counsel, and presently hereupon the noyse of the Popes thunderbolte

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is heard, rowling from the high Capitoll, and threatening forthwyth, as they sayde, the ouerthrowe of all the principall mountaines of France.

In the yeare 1589. the king beeing at that instant at Blois, tydings was brought vnto his Maiestie, that Paris, Roan, Lions, Tholouse, and the cities of the Realme were all reuolted, and that not one was remaining which was not infected with some notable treacherie. It was told vnto his maiestie also how Brisac, Boidaulphin, and the lorde Chastre, whom he had suffred to goe home vntouched vpon their othes vpon the Guyses death, had broken their promise so solemnely confirmed, & were reuolted to the enimy. Moreouer, that the Spanyard, the Italian Princes, the Dukes of Loraine and Sauoy, together with the inraged & furious people had sworne the Guises reuengement. That he was not in safety in Bloys, whereseoeuer he turned himselfe, that all places were surpised, and vntrustie. That at the one side the conspirators did presse him, at the other side the king of Nauarre wyth a great power came to inuade the realme, being alreadie at Samure, and had taken all the cities thereabout.

The king thus croste with so many troubles and aduersities at once, pensiue what to do, and put aside from al other hope, is forced to apply the vttermost remedy to an extreme sore & disease, and that which he had neglected in the ful prosperity of his wealth, power, and gouernment, craueth now voluntarily, being almost dispossessed of his crowne & kingdom. Calleth (not without gods appointment) to his aid the king of Nauarre his mortall enimy, but his most necessarie and profitable friend, if long before he had vsed him. He, although greatly iniured and offended, although so oftentimes at the Guyses requeste, by him assaulted with war: presently vnlooked for, commeth to the king his brother, with a chosen army, not only great in number, but also in valor, so that euery cõmon souldier might haue supplied the rome of anie officer. A great change is nowe againe to be seene: for at the arriuall of this mightie prince and vnlooked for armie,

the hearts of all the good, being herewith incouraged, and of the conspirators terrified: de Maine himselfe (to represse and stay by his presence the common report of the people, complaining already against the intollerable insolences of the souldiours, and feeling a dearth of all maner of victuals and necessaries, commonly the only causes of vproares and seditions in great cities) is constrained to returne again to Paris, with his mutinous companies which hee had brought from thence into the territories of Tours, to place them euery where in garrisons. His departure was not vnlike a cowardly running away, the K. of Nauarre following him so neere vpon his heeles, that he put al the hindermost of the e all straglers to the sword. His maiesty in the meane time fortified with a power of Switzers, & incoraged with some good successe against the rebelles, commeth in person in his camp, and marcheth directly to Paris with al his forces, to punish them for their treacherie & rebellion. Help commeth to him from all parts, his bands increase dayly in number, fame, and power. The state of the realm thus suddenly chãged (as the hearts of men are commonly inconstant and wauering) the chiefe cities beginne to intreate vpon peace: the German and Italian Princes, to send ambassadors, to wish wel to his M. to promise him mony and men, and some of the first conspirators also through dispaire flie to his mercy. All thinges finally, fal contrary vnto the Guises expectatiõs, now out of all hope to looke any more, as long as the King liued, for any condition of agreement, or surety of life.

The conspirators all begin to tremble at this new and suddaine chaungement doubtfull what to doe, or to vndertake: yet the ring-leaders of the rebellion assemble togither in counsell, to determine vppon the extremitie of their affaires. One among the rest, whose name shall be knowen and spread abroade by his execution, declareth the daunger wherein they liue, what they haue in France lesse trustie. That the minds of the nobilitie were mutable and inconstant, falling alwayes on fortunes side. That the fearefull Cities coulde not bee kepte faithfull vnto them, vnlesse

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they were partakers of the like rebellion and treachery, & if liberty were giuen vnto them, that ere long they woulde reuolte to the king again. That the cleargie was couetous and neuer did giue but little of their own vnto their kings, that therefore there was but small hope that they woulde giue more vnto them that could and might but intreate for it. That this was their case at home: from abroad lesse hope was to be loked for. That the Spaniard was olde, & carefull for the quietnesse of his owne family, vnto whome it was more surer, that France were troubled, then vsurped by any, but himselfe. That the Italian Princes were circumspect and wise, and those of Germany couetous and misers. That the Pope was subtill, crafty, and inconstant, greedy for his own gain, & turning with euery blast of Fortune. That therefore all his hope stode in himselfe, if they had any good successe that they should want nothing, but otherwise, that they needed not to loke for any help & safety but in their heeles and flight. Finally that by the death of one King all their affaires might bee repaired, and that only was to be intended and labored, how & by what meanes the Prince was to be dispatched or murthered. That there was no other remedie for the redresse of their distressed estate. Hereunto they apply all their witte and industry, and there are not found wanting some, who offered themselues to be ministers of this villanous trechery. Many are solicited and prouoked thereunto by great promises, according as they had a quickneſse of hand to performe such an act, & a desperate audacitie of mind to dare vndertake it. Amongst them al, Sixtus, is found Clement the welbeloued, a Friar Jacobin, fit and ready for such a trecherous enterprise, yet trusting not so much vppon his owne boldnesse, wherin notwithstanding hee greatly did excell all his fellow-friars: then knowing that Friars, but chiefely those of his order, had alwaies had a free acces vnto his Maiesty, wher other were seldome were admitted but at certaine howrs. This from his youth of hauing beene brought vp in the monastery very-nerely, hath giuen oftentimes notable tokens of

his vngodly inclination and vilde disposition (which many haue heard out of the Deanes owne mouth) and for his lewdnesse, by their order of discipline hath beene often diuersly punished, yet nothing to his amendement, was most often taken in stewes and whore houses, oftentimes assaied to runne away. No godlinesse, piety, or learning hee had, no not so much as the knowledge of the French letters, which any wayes might haue commended him. Which I think good to be spoken of this accursed murtherer, that our posterity may iudge, whether thy words are worthy of a sacred mouth, that doth not make God only himselfe priuy of manslaughter, (pardon I craue O Iehoua) but farther dost presume to say, that he hath communicated vnto a desperate bloudshedder the giftes of his spirite, and such motions of the minde, which haue beene graunted only vnto his Prophetes and Apostles. This Friar nowe sent out of Paris, goeth directly to the Campe, vppon this proviso notwithstanding, that all those that were suspected to bee of the Kinges side, should be kept fast within the Cittie, whereuppon his life did stand altogether. Those whom hee met first, tolde them, that he brought letters and writings from certaine Parisians who were greatly affectionated and knowen vnto the King, that they contained matters of great importance. And that hee besides had other things, to be disclosed vnto none but vnto his Maiesty: heruppon was brought vnto the king with like facility, as all the rest of his order were before. Greeteth the king but risen, and yet scarse ready, and at such a time, as he was wõt to bee alone, deliuereth the letters, the which when his M. had perused, demanded him what newes he brought. The Friar falleth vpon his knees (the king at that present sitting in a chaire, and inclining his eare to heare what hee would say) stabbed him with a knife which he had made & poisoned for that purpose. The prince hereuppon crieth out, the Lordes presently come running into his chamber, after many wounds slay this cursed and most miserable wretch Clemens, as also him that came with him, although the king

king did most earnestly forbid it, for to learne by them, the order of the conspiratie, the signes, tokens, and conspirators, who if they were knowen, as no doubte they shall be yet hereafter: I can not tell, Sixtus, whether thou shalt bee able to shake from thy souldiers the suspition of this bloudy crime, or at the least to haue beene the inuentor of this vngodly counsell. But the author of truth hath kept it to himselfe till the time of thy punishment. Great heauinesse and sorrowe was seene in al the Campe, but greate ioye among the ennemy, whose reioysing voices were hearde at that instant, demanding one of another whether the Friars knife was sufficiently sharpe or not. The king thus wounded was laid in his bed, wher he yeelded vp his ghost vnto God the next night following, hauing before made his will and set al things in good order.

Here haue you hearde the ende of this mighty Prince, and here may you beholde as in a looking glasse, the ouerthrowe of a whole Realme. I see many thinges in it to bee lamented: Whersoeuer I turne my selfe, I can perceaue nothing but a dreadfull horrour, a cruell, and bloudy spectacle, yet nothing more heauily doth present it selfe afore vs, then thine Oration, Sixtus, an ouerplus to the common griefe. Farre bee such a shame from vs (lette it suffice vs, to haue lost a good Prince, and that by our owne faulte and negligence) as to suffer the name of the dead to bee slandered and defamed. and the Monuments of so many worthy acts destroyed. Therfore I demand first of thee Sixtus, by what lawes that I shall contend with thee? With Christian lawes? But what hast thou to doe with Christ, whose birth and burial thou slanderest with a most detestable murtherers comparison? With the lawes of nature? but by what bandes of nature can bee vpholden the maintainer of willfull murther? Howe then, with the ciuil lawes? The statutes of Princes and the ciuill lawes haue enacted diuers and seuere punishmentes vnto those that offended but by chaunce: but vnto those that reuenged

their priuate quarrell by their own authoritie, fearfull torments. What punishments doe they alot then vnto those who violat & ouerthrow the welfare of a common wealth, truly almost incredible. But I see that I am constramed to seeke out new lawes to deale with thee. I am ready for it. Thou the autor of new offences, shalt bee my lawe and witnesse, Europe the court, and the Heauens the Iudges, and vpon these equall conditions I will pleade against thee. Come then and hearken first vnto this, It seemeth verie straunge vnto mee, and therefore make me somewhat better acquainted with it, that thou so oftentimes vsurpest the worde of Gods iudgement. Could not this suffice thee, to know God to bee the best of all goodnesse: but to say that hee willed such a detestable and wicked act. In deede wee see euerie where his wonderful iudgements: and we know that Princes the larger their gouernement hath beene, the greater accounts they haue to make. Besides if kinges had committed any offence, that not onely themselues did smart for it, but sometimes all their subiects felt the punishment thereof. Both is to be seene in the holie Scriptures. I will not deny, but that this prince hath suffered deserued punishment, if thou doest regard God onely, in whose eies all thinges are corrupt, naught, and crooked, nothing entire, or vndefiled,. But leaue the iudgement hereof vnto God, not vnto thy selfe, Sirtus. How knowest thou whether this is in steede of a blessing and benefit, which thou thinkest to be a curse, and a punishment. Did not Iosias also die an vntimely death: doth not God most often cal them first vnto him whom he loueth: Are tirants not seene oftentimes to raigne and liue longest: and good princes seldome come to great age: Superfluous, nay too curious it were, Sirtus, to search & examin these things, & more impious to iudge them. But let it be so, I grant this vnto thee. Shall therfore the excuse and cloake of Gods iudgement, protect & defend ỳ cause of a murtherer: the king of France for his offences hath deserued some heauy punishment at Gods hãds doth it follow therfore ỳ he is to be accounted godly, great,

famous,

famous, happy, and worthy the title of an Emperor, whosoeuer of the common people the most abiect and vilest, shall haue murthered his Prince? Then with thée that some shall be accounted innocent, that is a reuenger of his fathers offence by his fathers death: and the indignation of those children esteemed iust spilling the bloud of their parentes in Gods quarrell. What? is he worthy any longer to be reuerenced and honored with the title of a father, who liketh the example of naturall affection violated and quite extinguished? Herewith thou art touched Sirtus, but wherfore art thou so sone afeard, thou hast no cause yet to tremble, these are but toyes and trifles, come but nére, for to heare that which shall not make thée pale, but altogether senseleſſe. Let first the lawes of bloud and nature, which are the sacred bandes of humaine societie depart and goe aside, for as long as they are present I haue no reason to speake any word at all. I grant againe that it is lawfull by thy lawes to kill parents condemned by iudgement, and an executioner not to be wanted in the citie, as long as ỳ offenders sonne is found present. Let thy iudge then pronounce sentence and say, That lawfully the sonne may kill the father, but let him adde vnto it at the least, accused, noted, and condemned of a notorious offence, as an enemie vnto the cõmon wealth, that by these meanes the priuate lawes of a familie may be disanulled, by those which concerne the publike vtilitie. But contrariwise if thou destroyest the publike commoditie by a publicke offence, away with thy lawes, for they cannot be erogated with the welfare of a common wealth. Let vs now sée then: Here lyeth wallowing in his bloud, not the father of a priuate familie, but hée of a great kingdome: not the griefe of one household, but the heauinesse and sorrow of a whole realme most trecherously procured. And yet doest thou commende this? and sayest that he is murthered worthely? Well let it be so, so that he for whom we mourne be too worthy for to die after such a manner. But what was the offence in the reuenge whereof, the diuine, the ciuill, the common, and pri-

uate lawes did cease and loyter? Thou sayst that he hath commanded Lodouick the Cardinall, the Guise his brother to be executed, whose consecrated head was not to be touched but only by full authoritie from the Bishop of Rome. Thou cruell beast dost thou say that it is not lawfull for a King, ruling onely by Gods grace and authoritie to punish traytors against his Maiestie, and conuicted so oftentimes to haue troubled the publike peace: and that it is permitted vnto a graceless Friar to stabbe a Prince, for to haue iustly executed a Cardinall? What say ye to this O ye Princes of Europe, vpon whose neckes this cruell and bloudie Lyon treadeth. If he were to be punished, it was not to be done after that order, witnesses were to be produced, the offender was to be heard, iudges to be chosen: no hast was to be made vpon the execution of so great a Potentate. As if he wanted witnesses, by whose ambition now 3. yeares together France hath beene disquieted with ciuill warres: but his execution was to be delayed, to what end? To the troubling of good men, to the murthering of his Prince, & to the ruine and ouerthrow of the whole realme, all which but a day before was preuented. But heare sirha, by what law dost thou exempt thy disciples of common iustice more then any other? Forsooth that the lawes should shew rigour against euery poore wretch for euery small trespasse, & that it should be lawfull, vnto Priests, Bishops, and Cardinals to commit great and haynous crimes without offence? That Princes ordinances should haue no iurisdiction ouer them? If they offended that they should make lawes for their own purpose? The example pleaseth me, and verely I thinke it to be so altogether, after the saying of the Euangelist, that we should follow the wordes but not the workes of those that sit in the cheare of Moyses. But hee, Sirtus, that was both God and man, thy better and greater, scorned not to appeare before the tribunall seate of an earthly Iudge, and being brought into iudgement, complayned not of the Iudge. Iames and Andrewe Apostles, and Saint Stephen a Martyr, haue submitted them selues

vnder

vnder the lawe, And Saint Paule being imprisoned defended not his libertie by the preeminence of an Apostle, but by the title of a Citizen of Rome. But I knowe what thou wilt aunswere hereupon that Christ and his Apostles had not so great a libertie, as the Church hath at this day, it is true: Well, seeing that the blinde and ignorant ages haue ordained this, let vs beare the burthen which our ancestors haue layde vpon our shoulders, let the Clergie reioyce in her freedome, but let them exercise their libertie of offending onely betweene and vpon themselues, and let Princes and their subiectes be safe from their audacitie, and the common wealth voyde of treacherie and such like diuelish practises. If not, beare our lawes and the seuere ordinances of our Kinges, who haue exempted alwayes from your priuiledges, publike crymes and offences of treason, and such other like conspiracies which might turne to the damage of the common wealth. Heare the wordes of thy predecessor Innocent. *Qui de Ecclesia aliquem exemerit, vel in ipsa ecclesia, vel loco, vel cultui, Sacerdotibus, & ministris aliquid iniuriæ importauerit ad instar publici criminis & læsæ Maiestatis accusabitur, & conuictus seu confessus capitali sententia a Rectoribus prouinciæ puniatur.* What doest thou aunswere hereupon, art thou not yet conuicted, doest thou demande examples to confirme it. Peruse the monumentes of thy Predecessors, and then yeelde some reason wherefore it be not as lawfull vnto a king to doe the like in his Realme, which was permitted vnto Nicholas the fift in the Church against Pozcarius and Sarra, both famous knightes of Rome, vnto Pius against Carrapha and Rebiba Cardinalles, against Palian and Alphius noble Earles of Italie, which vnto many other? Whose steppes are yet to be seene in diuerse places: nay vnto thy selfe? that hast seene Rome flowing with running streames of bloud, and many Noble mens heads to stand vpon poales vppon the gates of the Cittie. But loe yet once I am mistaken, and nowe the thirde time I confesse that thou hast right.

Without doubt it was a haynous offence for a King to haue punished a Cardinall, although a rebell, a traytor, laying ambushes to murther his Prince, tempering poyson to dispatch him, heyring villaines to performe the deede. All these are purged & quite washt away with the sacred oyle of Chrisme, wherewith whosoeuer is annointed is set free for euer from all authoritie and secular power. He therefore that shall haue touched but with his least finger, one sealed with this noble and worthy caractar, I affirme with thee, that God himselfe is not able to deliuer him from danger. But likewise grant this vnto me, Sixtus, that all these offences, slanders, and accusations, wherewith in great heapes thou chargest the king, are contayned and included in the death and execution of both the Guises, and this onely excepted, him to be altogether blamelesse and innocent: which if thou dost grant me, I demand of thee likewise, wherefore didst thou not only foretell long before the dolefull kinde of death of this Prince, but didst wish for it. Wherefore callest thou Ioiosa and Lenocurtius Cardinals, and him of Paris witnesses of thy vnluckly south-saying: what curse of thee had the poore Prince deserued, at that time when thou didst see Ioiosa and Lenocurtius? At that time the Guyses were not yet executed, Nauarre was not yet sent for, no truce was made with the Heretikes: for what occasion then, as a diuinall and filthy Owle didst thou foreshow an vnaccustomed and shamefull end of his life? Did not he proclaime warre against the Heretikes in the yeare 85? Was not the Guise made chiefe of the whole armie, to the ruine, and ouerthrowe of the whole Realme? Were not the Germaine forces discomfited? what was there omitted? because he would not forsake and be deposed from his crowne, and goe to prison, because he would not commit the gouernement of his realme vnto the Guyse, or vnto the Spaniard: onely therefore by a prettie allusion thou hast destinated him to an extreame punishment, as the last of his name and family. Thou scorner and mocker of our griefe, come hether: wilt thou goe

about

about with nightcrowes to mollifie thy words, and hinder with a subtil eloquence the deserued rigor, & punishment due to a hainous offence? By these meanes thou defilest most filthely the remembrance of him, whom so long for his discent, for his worthy actes both done at home and abroade, the destinies of this Realme haue aduanced to imperiall dignitie and promotion, and so thou requitest him with slaunders, by whose grandfathers and auncestors thy sea hath bene ouercharged and laden with innumerable benefites. Heyda Sixtus, thy aduice pleaseth mée, and thy witte worthie onely of such a high Bishop as thou art. But here I appeale vnto all these Princes that are liuing at this time, and also vnto them that shall hereafter come to reade these our writings, that they may acknowledge with mée, the wonderfull iudgements of the Lorde, and the mockeries and changes of fickle fortune. The mightiest Prince of Europe is murthered: and liue he shoulde yet, if long agone he had not nourished his blodshedders with his owne, and with the blod of the whole realme: and whose liues, maners, and exercises he loued more then his owne welfare, by their fraude, sword, and treacherie he is depriued of his life. Hee is gone (oh horrible) by their meanes, whose safetie, when onely he intended, neglected his subiects and his owne welfare. And besides are not yet ashamed to say (but too too bolde) that by their deuises the Realme falling to decay, might haue bene repaired and supported: His ghost is accused but by him, whom he hath defended with al carefulnes, being vpon this world, whom he loued most dearely, & whom he reuerenced aboue measure far more then he was worthie of. The doleful monuments of his loue and loyalty towards thée are yet extant, whereof I would to God that the remembrãce could bee extinguished and quite defaced. To what ende tended so many ciuil warres, so many massacres, so many proscriptions which France hath suffered, then onely that thy wealth might remaine vntouched, and all thine might liue in euerlasting securitie. And yet funeralles, and the last honte of the body is denied him. Moreouer, from yearely praiers

(from whence no enemie euer hath bene barred) he is excluded, and by those at whose request we haue séene him so ostentymes humblie, but not Princely walke bareſoote, without Scepter or Crowne, and his ſworde downewarde. For whose dwelling and abiding places he complained that his kingdome was not great enough, for whose welfare hée himselfe hath not onely prayed most ostentymes, but hath enioyned vnto his people to doe the like. I will now make an ende in one worde. None coulde mète him that were as welcome vnto him as Friars, none loued the order of Prieſtes more entirely then hee: and of him no body was more eſtéemed of, reuerenced, and honoured then the biſhop of Rome. And vnto him his deſtinies haue procured a friar to be his murtherer, prieſtes his deadly ennemies, and the Pope his accuſer. I craue pardon of thée, O naturall affection (if it be lawfull to argue vpon the death of my Prince in a publike griefe) if this be the argument of my meditations.

I will come anone vnto thée Sirtus, when I ſhall bee reſolued of this point: wherefore dooſt thou denie vnto a dead Prince the gift of a little duſt, and comfortable prayers vnto his ſoule? What? Art thou ſo obſtinately angrie and offended with him, as to ſhewe extreme crueltie vppon his aſhes? Leaue his body to be torne at pleaſure vnto thy bloody butchars, let his ſoule enioy at the leaſt eternall reſt: to deſire that both be caſt away, is too vnnaturall, rigorous, and cruell.

Can the high Biſhoppe not bée appeaſed wyth leſſe puniſhmentes? I demaunde whether this be godlie and chriſtianlie ſpoken, O ye Princes of the earth giue eare vnto me.

The holy Biſhop of Rome denounceth by Apoſtolicall authority, that he hath opened the gates of heauē to Iames Clement, for to haue murdred the moſt chriſtian King of France, and that vnto the dead body of the King worthely, the pompe of funeralles, and the honour of buriall may be denied; yea, that leſſe is,

praiers

praiers and ſonges. For to haue denied vnto the Guyſes the gouernement of the Realme at his requeſt. Therefore what King ſoeuer, whether he be an Heretick or Catholick, if preſently he diſpoſeth not his Crowne at the pleaſure of the high Prieſt, to giue it vnto him, vnto whome it ſhall bee commanded him, let him looke for no better end in this life, and in the life to come. And whoſoeuer ſhall haue oppreſſed, by ſword, or poiſon, ſecretly, or openly, valiantly, or by deceit, any Prince, Emperor, or Monarch, not obaying our ſacred thunderbolts. Let him as a ſtarre with a new ſhining light, increaſe the number of the ſtars in the firmament. This is the will of Chriſt his vicar. The ſucceſſor of S. Peter and S. Paule Apoſtles.

What neede haue wee of thee (O Chriſt) if eternall life can be obtained not by thy bloud, but by that of Kinges and princes, if not by a croſſe, but a knife the way of heauē is opened vnto Friars.

Let the ghoſts of Luther and Caluin come to hear this, that by theſe ioyful newes and tidings they may eaſe at the leaſt, and mittigate the griefe of their paines if they ſuffer any. But now I come from the footepath vnto the high way againe. It ſeemeth but a matter of nothing vnto Sixtus, to dally with the accuſation of a moſt hainous offence, vnder the couller of Gods iudgementes, and vnder a counterfaite and fained authority drawen from the holy Scriptures: but he doth adde examples thereunto, to the end the accurſed traitour might become famous for euer, & not common onely, and of ſuch ſortes of perſons, but by whome the actes of Alexander and Ceſar might bee illuſtrated and commended. I lette paſſe willingly that which hee hath rehearſed of the conception, death, and reſurrection of our Lorde, vngodly to be ſpoken and ſhamefull to bee hearde. I muſt pauſe a while before I can giue an eare to heare ſuch horrible blaſphemies. Firſt hee praiſeth Eleazarus his notable acte in ſtabbing the beaſte. Whereupon he thought that Antiochus was, and litle re-

garding his owne life, so that he with the fall of the Elephant, might kill the rider and himselfe together. He praiseth the manly audacity and courage of Iudith, not respecting her own welfare and honesty, so that she might with the ennemies head, preserue the liues, goods, and chastity of the Cittizens of Bethulia. Hee extolleth both their zeale, constancy, and magnanimity, but so as the Poets did Hectors and ÆEneas triumphs and victories, that the conquerour thereby might reape the more praise and glory. He commeth presently vnto his sonne Clement whom he exalteth so hie that he seemeth to repent himselfe to haue produced these vnfit and vnequall examples, and to be angrie that for want of better, hath beene forced to vse but weake comparisons. By these meanes let the noble fights and combats of Sampson and Dauid giue place (Sirtus being iudge) vnto Cain, Ioab, and Judas their infamous treacheries. Let there be no difference then whether one killeth, villaniously or valiantly, a tirant or a king, an enemy or the father of his countrey: Let the Captaines who are famous for their prowesse, and renowned through many victories be equaled with a Friar but crept out of a caue. And finally let the constancy of Martirs be commended by the audacity of a murtherer. If this will stand for good, why dost thou not establishe statutes and ordinances, and like as we vse Gregorians and Gratians lawes, that we may haue thine also Sirtus, to depriue vertue of her due praise by them, and vices of their deserued shame and punishment: for none are or were euer to be found, that would haue vndertaken the defence of this act, thou only excepted. Besides is not contented to vse a common praise, but to make the foolish people more astonished, sheweth mirakles whereby the deuine power is argued to haue assisted and furthered this treachery, He telleth therefore how Clement went through the gates of the Citty being so narrowly besieged, and through the watches of both the Camps not marked, or as one should say inuisible, he speaketh this as a wonder, the like whereof Iudith is not able to bring forth, although she be so highly exalted,

eralted with sacred poesies, that she was a woman, that she had opened her pretence vnto the Magistrate & the Elders of the Citie, and that in their companies she went by the Sentinels of the Citie without danger, & then afterwarde was brought before the watch of the enemie, and lastly before the chiefe of the armie, and that by the exquisite beauty of her face she easily bewitched the heart and senses of the Prince which were ouercome already with wine and lust, and that therefore all things were readie & easie vnto her. But that all things crost the Friar, that in euery thing was great trouble and trauell, but yet more daunger, that he alone (surely without any bodies helpe or induction) had conceiued secretly the boldnesse of this desperate enterprise. That he had not only to go through the watches of the enemie, but by the Citizens straight wardes & Sentincls: and if his face, his words, or his pace, had bewrayed there any token of vnconstancie, which oftentimes is seene in those that doe attempt high and great matters, he had to looke for nothing, but for present death & destruction. Here if the letters had beene found about him, he had no lesse to feare the like of those that were ignorant of the matter and being besiedged were afeard of euery trifle. So that (as Homere sayth) as Aeneas was carryed by the helpe of Neptune out of the battell, euen so Sixtus leadeth this Fryar through the Citie, & the Campe couered with a cloud that he could not be seene of any body: I maruaile that he hath not set him vpon the winges of angels, to carry and bring him in safetie to the kinges tente. I appeale vnto your authoritie O honourable and reuerent antiquitie: what is become of shamefastnesse? Who thinkes now a dayes a lie to be a discredite? Come to heare a historie & not a fable. Clement by a great summe of money, by further hope, & by a notorious harlot was solicited, taketh counsell with the chiefe conspirators of the kings death, and it is knowen now, who were present at that instant, who were the coūsellers, & who were the furtherers. It were iniurious that our posterity should be deceiued & depriued of the memory of

this cruell act, and (as I hope ere long) of the example of the execution thereof. They did counterfaite letters from certaine prisoners vnto the King, bewraying some great matters to be declared by the mouth of the Fryar, the which when he had receiued, taketh the knife which he had made and poysoned to kill the king withall: and goeth out of the Cittie, but first hauing left charge that all those that were suspected might be kept within, that by these meanes the life of a bloodie murtherer should be in safetie with the danger of thousande innocents, if he should haue fallen a liue in the enemies handes. This is the first part of this miracle, these are the diuine motions, this is the celestiall inspiration, and this the infallible argument of the present assistance of Gods power. He commeth in the Kings campe no man letting him, and at that troublesome time, when Fryars onely were free, and had onely safe conduct to goe where they would themselues. But why goe I about to spend my time in confuting Sixtus his lyes, where so many blasphemies doe offer themselues before me? All these are toyes of the common people. Let euery mans vertue separate and distinguish him from the common sort: but the Bishop of Rome let him be knowen by his notorious and extraordinarie villanies. It is an old saying, where lawfull things are onely permitted vnto gouernours, there they command by intreatie, a Priest doth not differ from a Lay-man, but onely in libertie of offending. It is sayth hee (speaking of the murthering of the Prince) a most famous, and a memorable act, and not atchieued without the particular prouidence and disposition of the Almightie (pardon me O euerlasting, holy, and omnipotent God, pardon me O pietie, and naturall affection, rehearsing wordes which are impious and full of blasphemie) what Sixtus if thou hadst onely sayde that this befell by his permission, vnto whom it is easie to hinder all thinges, although it be true, it were not godly, and lesse godly for thee to affirme this that knowest not all thinges that are present, and therefore the more that thou callest in witnesse

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and defence of thy villanyes, him whom thou calleſt good and almightie. *Hei* thou Doctor in Iſraell art thou ignorant of this, that all good things are aſcribed vnto God only, and that all the reſt is attributed vnto our ſelues? Who can ſuffer then that vnto the ſame God who is good onely, onely omnipotent the bloudie offence of an outcaſt from all man kinde is referred? And yet thou doeſt eſtéeme it but ſmall to ſaye that the King was ſlaine, not onely by thy knowledge, but by thy counſell, not diſſembling at it, but commaunding it, and hauing ſet a ſide all celeſtiall and infernall care, that it hath béene thy will onely and procurement that at thy pleaſure ſuch a haynous and erecrable murther was committed in France. Doe the heauens heare this and ſuffer it? for whom are the gulphes of the earth, the vnluckie rockes, and the fearefull whirlpooles and déepes of hell reſerued? Lightnings and thunderbolts ſhould be wanting if no part of theſe villanies were left vnpunished. Nowe long agone my eares are hardened and acquainted with theſe erecrable wordes. And what is all this which I haue ſayde? but vulgar and common, nothing worthie of high Ioue his anger, nothing notorious, nothing pontificiall. I would willingly follow childrens faſhions when they are to drinke a medicine: they inuent delayes, they leaue nothing vndone, they turne the cup, and oftentimes put it vnto their mouth to taſte it, then they ſhake their heads as if they were angry, they aſke for ſwéet things to ouercome or to mitigate the bitterneſſe of the potion. But finally they being wearied with the continuall crytings of the ſtanders by, turning their head aſide, & ſtopping their noſtrels, do not drinke the medicine but powre it in. The like happeneth vnto me at this time: I would if I might, Sirtus, paſſe by thy horrible blaſphemies & impious wordes, wherewith thou haſt polluted by an abhominable compariſon of a moſt villainous offence, the holy myſteries of our Sauiors birth and buriall. I would to God that Chriſtian eares had only hard it, who are déeper grounded in religion & better perſwaded of faith, & who neuer would

haue giuen credite to thy impious Oration, if it were vnknowen to the Barbarians Heathen, and Turkes: who will hereafter make a mocke of the true Christian doctrine, by thy authoritie, Sirtus, and example. Art thou not ashamed, that thou, being the Pastor of the redeemed flocke, by whose guiding it draweth the water of life out of the holy well, whose wordes should haue sounded nothing, but that which was famet, pure, and godly: that thou the lively interpretor of the written lawe of God, and the seuere punisher of blasphemies, and of those that falsefie and corrupt the sense of the holy Scriptures, and moreouer of those that abuse, or vse too freely wordes taken out of the booke of GOD: I will not say hast deluded the Prophetes and Apostles, hast called in doubt the trueth of the hystorie, hast corrupted the holy Scriptures, wrested and falsefied them by a false interpretation, by godly examples hast coulloured impious offences, and hast protected them by thine authoritie, (these are but small thinges because they are vsuall vnto thee) but to compare the eternall counsell of the redemption of mankinde, which onely was committed vnto the seconde person of the Trinitie, onely of him suscepted, with the vngodly and detestable conspiracie of the murthering of a Prince: And to equall the casuall audacitie of an inraged and bloudie butcher vnto the reuerende myracles of our Lordes natiuitie, death, and resurrection: Auoyde impietie, auoyde blasphemie, infect not the holy Lambe with thy poysoned breath. What hast thou left vntouched, whome hast thou spared: what hath not Mahomet nowe to obiect vnto vs: what hath the Iewe any longer to holde his peace: Loe yee Christians: if the Sarrasins, the Indians, and the Barbarous people of Calico, murmigh most bitterly against you, they haue borrowed it of the Bishoppe of Rome. Diddest thou lacke prophane examples, Sirtus, to compare them vnto thy villaynie that thou hadst a refuge vnto most holy and diuine comparisons: I am glad, sir Bishoppe, that the world hath beene

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voide vntill thine age of such hainous and publicke murthers, & that both were reserued vnto thy time, to wit hee that durst attempt such a detestable acte, and he that was not ashamed to commaund it. Come forth all yee, whome the religious antiquity hath seperated from the worlde to bee addicted vnto celestiall meditations, whome the sonne neuer saw but throwe some narrowe riftes, being shutt vp in high walles and iron dores. Arise I say and come forth Sixtus calleth you vnto villennie, to the murthering of Kings and princes, now the gates are kept no longer by a seuere and frowning porter. And those bars and dores that kept you from the frendly imbracing of your fathers, and the swete kisses of your affectionated mothers, are nowe freely remoued and opened vnto you, to shed by treacherye and treason the bloud of your parents, and dearest frends. I was determined Sixtus, to leaue thy lies, surmises, and false accusations vntouched: But I am prouoked to the contrarie through thy impudency, which deserueth no smal indignation, as those may easely iudge that are somewhat acquainted with our estat and affaires. Dost thou say that Monkes and Friars were kild, or at the least ill vsed in the Kings Camp? I would to God it had beene so, if it be lawful and godly to desire it. But at the least I wish that all this idle and vnprofitable cattle should haue beene pounded and imprisoned: then our Prince should liue yet, worthy of a longer life, and then as a fearfull hare thou durstest not tread vppon the body of the dead Lion, and deride our griefe and mishappe. As if all the world knew not that vnto these slaues he neuer was harde, where as oftentimes, he was vnto his most familiar friendes seuere. Truely his vntimely facility, hath hurt him, hauing had as yet no experience how much hipocrisie and deceite there lay hidden vnder a Friars hood. As if thy selfe didst not know that hee allwayes had with him two Friers in his armie, whose help he allwayes vsed in his diuine seruice. Let me be vndon and cast away, if I would not haue twisht a Friars weede, and forsaken my counsellers gowne, if by that meanes I coulde

haue perſwaded him to the beſt. Truly none were ſo mighty in the Realm, whoſe welfare and cõmodity, nay not his owne, hee eſteemed not leſſe then theſe peoples delights and pleaſures onely. Thou haſt no lucke, Sixtus, with thy lie, it will not forge, thou mightieſt more eaſier haue made the worlde beleeue any thing els. The enemy himſelfe dare not ſay, that Friars were ill vſed as long as he liued. Here I woulde make an end if I were but certified of one pointe. Reſolue mee, Sixtus, of this, I inquire no further cauſes of the murthered Prince, it ſufficeth mee to knowe that thou haſt commaunded it, thy will ſhall ſtande for a lawe. But wherefore doſt thou perſecute his ſhadowe, wherefore doeſt thou accuſe him of obſtinacy, impenitency? vnthankefulneſſe, and to haue ſinned againſt the holy Ghoſt? Why doeſt thou compare him with Cain and Judas? By what iuſtice or equitie canſt thou doe this? when hee lay vppon his death bedde did hee doubt of Chriſtian faith? Did hee deny the euerlaſting Sonne of the eternall GOD? Hath hee neglected the auncient cuſtomes of the Church, and the moſt comfortable Sacramentes vnto thoſe that lie in their extremity? Yet once againe herein thou art a notable lier. Why doſt thou force mee ſo oftentimes to repeate the remembraunce of my bitter griefes? It is certaine that the godly Prince, as ſoone as the Phiſitions and Surgeons had bounde vp his wounde and had laide him vppon his bedde, hauing a little ſlepte vppon his paine and griefe, that hee pronounced with his owne mouth his Prayers, and with a loude voice, made confeſſion of his faith, and of the feeling which hee had of his redemption: adding thereunto theſe wordes vnto GOD. If it bee to thy glory, O GOD, and the commoditie of my people, graunte mee I moſt humbly deſire, firſt pardon for my ſinnes, and then ſome longer dayes of life. But if it bee otherwiſe, I thanke thee moſt highly, O Father, that thou doeſt barre mee hence forth from the thraldome of ſinne, whereby wee moſte oftentimes procure thy wrath

wrath against vs. And therefore I am readie most willingly to come where thou callest me. Hauing made an ende of his Prayers he sendeth for his brother the King of Nauarre, and for the chiefest of his army, and vnto his brother he commendeth the charge of the Realme, and the gouernment of his subiects, the Lawes of France, importing as much: and repeted oftentimes these words, whereby he charged him to haue a speciall care to keepe Christes flocke in vnity and concord: and as he was heire vnto the crowne, that he likewise would be heire to godly and ancient institutions. Desiring this most earnestly at his hands with a solemne protestatiõ, shewing that this had bin his only desire from his childhood. They al depart very sorrowful, whervpõ he confesseth his sins in the eare of a priest, & hauing craued pardon of God for his offences, he had a sensible feeling, that they were forgiuẽ him for Christs sake. And nowe ready to communicate of his sacred body openly that al might heare it, that grace which he had freely receiued of God in the forgiuenes of his sins, that same he frankly imparteth to al his enemies, nay to them that had bẽene the conspirators of his death, & his murtherers. And thus hauing receiued his last due & farewell, departed ioyful & glad out of this worlde, not without the great griefe of all the standers by, bewraying ỹ inward sorrowe with outward abundant teares. Here Sixtus, I see no tokens of desperation, no signes of impenitencie. And I thinke not, that thou art so farre voyde of al reason, as to compare a most Christian prince vnto K. Saule. But let him be cõpared yet to him, so that he heare no bitterer words, & suffer greater torments. Beholde with what words Gods indignation vpon this impious king is expressed. The spirite of the Lorde is gone from Saule, saith the prophet: And in another place the Lord speaketh vnto Samuel, saying, How long wilt thou lament ouer Saul, when I haue cast him off that he shall not raigne? Doth he saie, that he is miserable, vnhappie, & worthy of eternal damnation? God forbid. When the scripture speaketh of his death, marke the most christian wordes of Dauid, directed vnto

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the vnluckie youngman, who boasted, but falsely, that hee, with his owne handes had slaine the Prince in the battell: How wast thou not afraid to put forth thy hand, to destroy the annointed of the Lord? And in many other places, who shall stretch forth his hands vpon the Lords annointed, and shall be innocent? Answere Sixtus, is not thy oration cruell whereby thou commaundest wilfull and publike murther, in praising it: or say, that this example is not to be followed, and to be abolished by thine authoritie. Saule was slaine in the battell, an Amalekite his enemy had done it, here is nothing that was forbidden by lawe, yet the Lorde hath reuenged the death of his annointed. See further what the holy Chronicles tell of Joab, and Ammon, being murthered, although vngodly kings, authors of abhominations, and hated of God. See, reade, and peruse all the sacred and prophane histories, and thou shalt finde, that not onely the lawe of nature, of men, and aboue all Gods ordinances, but also the seuere and horrible examples of the punishmēt therof, debarre impious and bloodie handes, from the annoynted bodies of kings and Princes. Rome fertile alwayes in all villanie, hath seene of twelue her Emperors, eight murthered wyth the sword, but none vnreuenged. He, Sixtus, therefore that succēdeth shall be, I hope, the reuenger, and that which thou hast now long agone knowne by other histories, thou shalt come to learne it ere long by thine owne. Anoyde therefore, thou Bishop, and be prowde with this answere: Go vnto the Indians, or in some other corner of the world, a iust punishment is reserued for thee vnder some greater ennemy.

FINIS.